/23 cont'd/

584 787 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case examined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval.

584 793 [771] But by whom is this horoscope read?

The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-lang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable, 583 584 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

/72/

585 181 THAT THE SECOND PROSTRATION BE MADE TO THE FATHER AND MOTHER AND TO THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY.

Dē gŏrda thorguē āni āwa khudugu ŝgesdu murgu.

THAT THE THIRD BE MADE TO THE PERSONS OF THE MOTHER'S CLAN AND TO THE WHOLE CLAN.

Dē gŭrānda thorguē urug tharug imag saru ñiandu murgu.

Then in the midst of the greatest silence he continues in a solemn voice:

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD SEVEN FARMS!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD HOUSES WITH A SECOND STORY AND A VERANDA!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO SHEAR SEVERAL HUNDRED SHEEP ANNUALLY!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO MOUNT HUNDREDS OF HORSES AND RAISE HERDS OF HUNDREDS OF OXEN!

MAY YOUR SONS BE NUMEROUS: SO THAT YOU MAY SEE YOUR GRANDSONS STILL MORE NUMEROUS!

MAY YOUR FAMILY BE FECUND AND OVERFLOWING WITH PROSPERITY LIKE THE SEA WHICH OVERFLOWS!

MAY YOU BE DURABLE AS IRON!

MAY YOU DAY BY DAY BECOME RICHER AND MORE POWERFUL LIKE FIRE ON WHICH OIL IS POURED!

585 Then the old men and the parents throw some cash on the felt at the feet of the young couple. The maid of honor removes the veil from the young wife and leads her into the nuptial chamber. The two lamps which burn on the table in the middle of the courtyard are taken away to be put before the religious image, where they will burn as long as there is any oil.

●[793] Let us note the absence at this marriage ceremony of any religious personnel, shaman, lama, tao-jen /Taoist priest/; let us notice in addition that it does not take place in a temple, but that it is performed in the home, under the authority of the head of the family, in front of the ancient shamanistic sacred fire, and under the patronage of "heaven and the multifarious spirits." Marriage among the T'ou-jen is then, incontestably, /73/ something other than a simple union of the sexes. The wishes for prosperity enunciated

Mo 586 593 /148 cont'd/ children are accepted in the family to keep the daughter-in-law home better, say the T'ou-jen, and to avoid a second escapade. Then, if later one wants to get rid of them, one will send the boys to the lamasery to devote themselves to the service of Buddha; as for the girls, they will be given in marriage. I confess I have not met polyandry among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 548 Likewise, prostitution in the strict sense of the word is not known. Although there are the series of prayer-post wives and belt wives, they cannot be classed in this category. Indeed, they consider themselves as being married, and they are considered as such, and furthermore they hardly ply the trade of prostitutes. (1)

Ma [548]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 152: Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown. /Cited in English./

Mo 589 793 Celibacy is practiced solely by the lamas of the yellow sect, and the T'ou-jen furnish a sizable contingent to this religious body. They are the only bachelors among the T'ou-jen. There is no lamasery for women in the country; all the women without exception practice marriage under one or the other of the forms we have described above. It happens at the very most that one meets widows or women of advanced age who shave their heads and devote themselves especially to prayer while staying at home.

Mo [302]

/149/

Chapter VI

The Matriarchate

005 Summary: -- A. Present-day patriarchal state. System of the large family. B. Former matriarchate proved by: (1) Double burial. (2) The relations of the maternal uncle with the family of his sister

2: Schram--203 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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291
516
142

Left, a T'ou-jen lama wearing the dress of the yellow lamas.
Center, his superior, T'ou-jen lama in Chinese dress.
Right, a lay T'ou-jen, their servant.

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

793

/For information on the lamas and the hutukhtus (Living Buddhas) and their activities see category 792./

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason.

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." (This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.)

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang-chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them.

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief

[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien, Herold, 1949.

[p. 18(A)]

175
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554
793

of the Yellow Sect were transmitted to his apprentice (usually his nephew) and remained as before a private interest.

Nang-suo

Until 1723 there were eighteen Nang-suo in the country of Hsining. Sixteen of them were abolished after the revolt of that year. Only two managed to survive: the Nang-suo of Editsa, which had sent its allegiance to the Chinese General Nien Keng-yao before the troubles started, and the despised Sina Nang-suo which had been implicated in the revolt but changed its mind after the revolt appeared to be about to fail.[48] This explanation afforded by the Amban of Hsining and the history tallies well with what is told by the Monguors and the lamas all over the country, who disdainfully recall the sayings: *Chien pu kuo Editsa Nang-suo*, "no slyer creature than the Editsa Nang-suo," and *Sina Nang suo chiao ts'ai liang chia*, "The Sina Nang-suo plants his feet in two boats [is untrustworthy]." The Editsa Nang-suo having gone over to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privilege was inherited by the intendancy of the monastery. Editsa was still flourishing in 1910–1920; Sina, however, had passed through a bad period.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 6*a* and 6*b*;

> Sina was a group which submitted in 1380 and lived inside the wall, grazing its animals 60 *li* north of Hsining [region of T'o-pa], having a city and houses, and engaging in agriculture; it possessed a Buddhist temple, and its lama had received the title of "Master of the Empire," with silver and ivory seals. It was a group of 500 families, comprising more than 1,500 persons. It offered a yearly tribute of more than 300 horses. One of its subtribes was called the Small Sina tribe and lived in Ku-shan; its tribute was 30 or more horses. Its other subtribe was the Ssu-ta-lama tribe, and lived near the temple of Hsieh-erh-kang-chin; its tribute was 50 or more horses.

After the revolt, troubles did not cease within the Sina tribes, whose subjects had been compelled to participate in the rebellion at the beginning by the Nang-

[48] *Tung-hua-lu*, First year of Yung-cheng period, 3: 23*a*, 25. *Ming-shih-lu*, Yung-cheng period, *Chuan* 12, p. 27. In 1707 Father Regis, S.J., was sent by the emperor, during the period K'ang Hsi, to draw the map of the empire (Henri Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine*, 3: 333, Paris, Geuthner, 1920). He remained in Hsining for a month, visited T'o-pa and writes: "This village is not administered by Chinese officials, but depends on a lama, always chosen from the same family which belongs to this country. This family is the most outstanding one in the country. The lama administers these Tibetans (*Hsifan*) and punishes misbehavior. This people, not wholly subject to China, are rarely summoned by the Chinese officials, and seldom obey their orders. The lama chief does not seem to trouble the subjects very much, providing they honor him and fulfill their obligations toward Buddha, which seem not to be too burdensome. The three or four Armenians who were trading furs in T'o-pa, seemed very pleased with the chief lama, and praised his administration." (J. B. DuHalde, *Description géographique de la Chine*, 49–50, 1736.) Schram, *op. cit.*, 36.

[p. 18(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

suo chief, and had suffered enormously. Finally they refused to deliver taxes to the Nang-suo and asked the Chinese officials to accept them as Chinese subjects. The request was readily granted, and an arrangement was made between the Chinese officials and the Nang-suo by which every year the subprefect of Hsining was to pay 1,500 strings of cash to the Nang-suo; the Nang-suo could only collect the rents, and his subjects were henceforth considered Chinese subjects. This happened after 1755, because the *Annals* (ch. 19, 15*a*), say that "in 1755 the chief of the Sina tribe, which numbered 1,379 persons, resided in the village of the upper Sina lamasery." In 1910 most of its fields had been sold by the Sina intendancy, which had adhered to the Yellow Sect. Its resources were so depleted that the seals of the former Nang-suo had been mortgaged to the lamasery of Kumbum, which thereby acquired the authority to collect the rents from the remaining properties.

The Lung pen Nang-suo is often spoken about in the country. It lived on both sides of the wall in former times and submitted in 1380, together with its neighbors, the Sina tribe, and then moved inside the wall. It numbered 130 families. Its lama chief had received the title of "Master of the empire" and the official rank of Chih-hui. Its subtribe, the Pei-pa-erh had one hundred or more families (*Annals*, ch. 19, p. 15*a*). In 1916 the impoverished chief was still called Nang-suo lama locally. He lived in the Naring Valley. He told me that his lamasery had been destroyed in 1723 and that the lamas had disappeared. His subjects, who had become subjects of the Chinese officials, lived in Ta-Hsiao-Kang-ch'eng. His predecessors had sold nearly all the fields and he could not collect the rents on the remaining fields. His neighbors said that his predecessors had mortgaged his seals to the intendancy of Sina. In early times they had two temples, Lung pen kui ssu and Lung hua ssu, which were destroyed during the revolt. Only one side of one of the temples had been rebuilt and the lama still collected some alms among his former 373 families. Often recalled also in local tradition are the Nang-suos of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, abolished after 1723. They were important in former times.

Karwa [46]

According to a tradition well known all over the region, thirteen Karwa were established north of the Hsining River during the Ming dynasty. In 1912 seven of them still existed, Li-ch'i, Ch'ien-tsun-urgon, Pei-cha-erh-ti, Sia-mer, Tsan-tsa, Chao-chia, and Huo-puo. There are no records of Karwa south of the

[46] The word *Karwa* is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; it is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

[p. 19(A)]

Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seigniory presided over by a lama. Granted by the emperor, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16*a*). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its temple, about which more will be said.

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members

[p. 19(B)]

Apprentices whoreceive part of their training for a couple of years from another shaman, during the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters. 756 534 [874]

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are attached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted. 756 413 293

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order 756 793

[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmbergs, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

[p.84(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it.

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans involves the very interesting question of how and to what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions.

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god.

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of